

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR/SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 1350

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: MBFR AD HOC GROUP MEETING, FEB 13, 74

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN MEETING FEB 13 UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF GREEK REP (DOUNTAS), AD HOC GROUP ACCEPTED CRITERIA TO BE USED IN DE-SIGNATING ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES IN INFORMAL GATHERINGS WITH THE EAST PROPOSED BY NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES). GROUP APPROVED FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ALLIED PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL IN 13 FEB INFORMAL MULTILATERAL MEETING. GROUP APPROVED DRAFT CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR THE PERIOD 4 TO 10 FEB AND APPROVED SUBSTANCE OF TALKING NOTES FOR ORAL REPORT TO NAC TO BE GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR QUARLES FEB 15. END SUMMARY.

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BILATERALS:

1. US REP CIRCULATED REPORT OF BILATERAL MEETING WITH SOVIET REPS KHLESTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY AS ORALLY PRESENTED TO AHG FEB 12 (SEE SEPTTEL). US REP ADDED ONE ITEM THAT WAS NOT CONTAINED IN THE WRITTEN REPORT, NAMELY THAT THE SOVIETS HAD EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE CLARIFICATIONS GIVEN BY ALLIED REPS IN THE INFORMAL DINNER OF FEB 6 WERE IN REALITY LESS THAN HAD ALREADY BEEN PRESENTED FORMALLY IN PLENARY STATEMENTS.

2. NORWEGIAN DEP REP (VARNO) REPORTED LUNCHEON WITH POLISH REP (STRULAK), THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH HE SAID, WAS VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO THAT COVERED IN US DELEGATION BILATERAL FEB 5 (VIENNA 1038), ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS POSSIBLE FORCE FREEZE BETWEEN STAGES.

ALLIED PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL

3. THE NETHERLANDS REP STATED THAT IN VIEW OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THE 12 FEB AD HOC GROUP MEETING, HE WISHED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTION REGARDING THE WESTERN PARTICIPATION IN THE 13 FEB INFORMAL MULTILATERAL MEETING WITH THE EAST:

A) THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD, THROUGH ITS CHAIRMAN, DESIGNATE REPRESENTATIVES FOR EACH INFORMAL GATHERING, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT NATIONAL INTERESTS WOULD VARY AS THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE MEETING VARIED AND THAT THE AVAILABILITY OR NON-AVAILABILITY OF CERTAIN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD FLUCTUATE ON DIFFERENT DATES.

B) THE US SHOULD BE REPRESENTED IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT US-USSR GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS IN THE FIRST PHASE OF MBFR WOULD BE THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE MEETINGS.

C) THE REQUIREMENTS OF CONTINUITY WOULD HAVE TO BE WEIGHED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE NEED FOR A CHANGING MEMBERSHIP. THERE IS NEED FOR CONTINUITY ON THE WESTERN SIDE IN VIEW OF THE CONTINUITY WHICH WOULD BE MAINTAINED ON THE EASTERN SIDE AND BECAUSE THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE DISCUSSIONS WOULD ALSO BE THE SAME OVER A PROLONGED PERIOD. THE EASTERN SIDE MIGHT TAKE MORE FULLY INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEWS OF THOSE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT THROUGHOUT THE LIFETIME OF THIS DISCUSSION. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT A CHANGE IN WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WAS ALSO EQUALLY REQUIRED GIVEN THE VIEWS EXPRESSED AT THE 12 FEB AD HOC GROUP MEETING. THEREFORE, THE REQUIREMENTS OF CONTINUITY WOULD HAVE TO BE WEIGHED ALONG WITH THE NEED FOR CHANGE DEPENDING ON THE PARTICULAR THEMES TO BE DISCUSSED ON ANY PARTICULAR

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OCCASION; THAT IS, A CHANGE IN THE THEME WOULD JUSTIFY A CHANGE IN WESTERN PARTICIPATION; BUT IF THE TIME PERIOD OVER WHICH THE DISCUSSIONS WERE LENGTHY, THAT IS, IF THE SAME THEME WERE TREATED OVER A PROLONGED PERIOD, IT MIGHT BE JUSTIFIABLE TO AFFECT A CHANGE IN WESTERN PARTICIPATION DURING THE COURSE OF THAT DISCUSSION.

D) DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WERE TRULY MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAN SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS

BUT THIS CONSIDERATION DOES NOT OBVIATE THE FACT THAT THE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS MIGHT BE CALLED UPON TO REPRESENT THE AD HOC GROUP DURING THE COURSE OF THE INFORMAL MULTILATERAL EXCHANGES.

E) NO GROUPING OF AD HOC GROUP MEMBERS CAN CLAIM A PERMANENT RIGHT TO ONE OR MORE SEATS AT THESE MEETINGS; ALL SEATS ON THE WESTERN SIDE SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY.

4. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION TO THE NETHERLANDS REP FOR PROPOSING AN EXCELLENT SET OF CRITERIA. HE WAS IN FULL AGREEMENT AND FELT THE CRITERIA WOULD SATISFY BOTH PRESENT AND FUTURE NEEDS OF THE GROUP.

5. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) FULLY SUPPORTED THE DITCH SUGGESTION AS PRAGMATIC AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS.

6. ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI) WELCOMED THE DUTCH PROPOSAL AS A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUITY WHICH, IN THE DUTCH PROPOSAL, WOULD NOT HINDER THE RIGHTS OF ALL DELEGATIONS TO EVENTUALLY TAKE PART.

7. UK REP (ROSE) AGREED.

8. GREEK REP AND TURKISH REP (TUREL) SUPPORTED THE DUTCH PROPOSAL.

9. GROUP FORMALLY APPROVED THE DUTCH PROPOSAL AND AGREED WITH NETHERLANDS REP THAT BELGIAN REP SHOULD CONTINUE AND PARTICIPATE IN INFORMAL DINNER FEB 13 TOGETHER WITH US AND UK REPS, THUS PRESERVING CONTINUITY.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ALLIED PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL:

10. ITALIAN DEP REP STRESSED THAT NO MENTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN PHASES SHOULD BE MADE UNLESS AN APPROPRIATE CONCESSION WAS RECEIVED FROM THE EAST. ALLIED REPS SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT SUBJECT SHOULD ONLY BE BROUGHT UP IF THIS WERE THE CASE.

11. US REP AGREED THAT MENTION OF A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN PHASES WOULD ONLY BE MADE IF THE ALLIED POSITION WERE TO BE ADVANCED.

12. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) SUGGESTED THAT MENTION COULD BE MADE OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES AS A POSSIBLE POINT OF COMMON AGREEMENT FOR FURTHER EAST/WEST DISCUSSION.

13. GREEK REP DISAGREED, STATING ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE CONFIDENTIAL

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BE GONE INTO IN DETAIL IN INFORMAL CONTACTS AT THIS TIME SINCE THE NAC HAD NOT YET FULLY FORMULATED THE ALLIED POSITION ON THE FLANK ISSUE AND A SIMILAR DEGREE OF DETAIL SHOULD BE AVAILABLE ON THAT ISSUE TOO.

14. CANADIAN REP STRESSED THAT ASSOCIATED MEASURES HAD INDEED BEEN MENTIONED IN BOTH EAST AND WEST PROPOSALS AND THAT IT WAS THEREFORE APPROPRIATE TO MENTION ASSOCIATED MEASURES IF NECESSARY IN REACHING PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST.

15. FRG REP (BEHREND) AGREED THAT ASSOCIATED MEASURES COULD BE MENTIONED AT THIS TIME, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT DISCUSSION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN INFORMAL GATHERINGS WOULD NOT GO BEYOND WHAT HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN APPROVED FOR DISCUSSION BY THE AHG.

16. US DEP REP POINTED OUT THAT THREE MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE US FOR THE 13 FEB INFORMAL MULTILATERAL MEETING WERE: FIRST, TO REITERATE THE FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES; SECOND, TO PROVIDE A SUPERFICIALLY REVISED DEFINITION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER THOUGH UN-

CHANGED AS REGARDS SUBSTANCE, IF THE SOVIETS INSISTED THE PROPOSAL WAS TOO ONE-SIDED; THIRD, TO ATTEMPT TO DEFINE FURTHER COMMON ELEMENTS IF THE FIRST TWO EFFORTS FAILED. HE STRESSED THE US HOPED TO GET THROUGH THE FEB 13 MEETING WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE THIRD APPROACH OUTLINED ABOVE.

17. GREEK REP AGREED ASSOCIATED MEASURES WERE A COMMON ELEMENT OF THE PROPOSALS BUT STRESSED AGAIN HIS DELEGATION'S POSITION THAT THEY NOT BE DISCUSSED UNTIL THE QUESTION OF FLANK SECURITY IS SETTLED BY THE NAC.

18. TURKISH DEP REP (UNAN) DOUBTED THAT ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED A COMMON ELEMENT. HE STRESSED THAT THE LIMITED PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT AS AGREED BY THE GROUP POSTULATED LIMITED DISCUSSION. ON US-SOVIET FORCES, IT WAS DESIGNED TO BRING THE EAST TOWARDS THE WEST'S POSITION. ANY ALTERATION OF THIS PURPOSE OR EXPANSION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER COULD SHIFT THE MAIN FORUM OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TO INFORMAL GATHERINGS, WHICH HE CONSIDERED UNDESIRABLE AND UNNECESSARY.

19. BELGIAN REP AGREED THAT TURKISH DEP REP HAD POINTED OUT THE BASIC PROBLEM.
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20. THE GREEK REP STATED IT WAS HIS VIEW THAT THE AHG HAD DECIDED THAT THE VIEWS WHICH HE HAD EXPRESSED ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE 13 FEB INFORMAL DISCUSSION. THAT IS, THE SUBJECT OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE ADDRESSED. THE US DEP REP STATED THAT IT WAS HIS VIEW THAT IF BOTH SIDES SHOULD AGREE TO IDENTIFY ALL COMMON POINTS, THEN THE AHG WOULD DISCUSS EXACTLY WHAT CONSTITUTED THOSE COMMON ELEMENTS AND CERTAINLY THE ISSUE OF THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS WOULD BE INCLUDED. THE GREEK REP REPLIED THAT IT WAS HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION THAT THE ENTIRE ISSUE OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE RAISED WITH THE EAST UNTIL THE ISSUE OF FLANK SECURITY HAS BEEN SETTLED BY THE NAC.

21. THE TURKISH REP STATED THAT HE PERCEIVED THE ISSUE TO BE SOMEWHAT BROADER THAN THAT DESCRIBED BY THE GREEK REP. HE NOTED THAT THE ALLIED TACTICS PAPER REACHED AGREEMENT ON A LIMITED PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY BOTH SIDES WOULD FOCUS ON US/USSR GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS IN A FIRST PHASE. HE SAID THAT GROUP WAS PRESENTLY AGREEING THAT AT THIS TIME THE AREA OF COMMON GROUND WAS EXPANDED TO INCLUDE: A) PHASING; B) US/USSR GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS; AND C) INCLUSION OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN REDUCTIONS. HE SAID THAT WHEREAS THESE ELEMENTS MIGHT BE USED TO BRING THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO DISCUSS US/USSR GROUND FORCES, THE RESULT WAS THAT THE PROCESS OF INFORMAL SOCIAL SESSIONS WAS BECOMING INSTITUTIONAL-

IZED. HE SAID IT WAS THIS RESULT WHICH WAS HARMFUL. THE ITALIAN
DEP REP STATED THAT MOST SPEAKERS IN THE AHG SEEMED TO AGREE THAT
THE ISSUE OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE RAISED AT THE 13
FEB EAST/WEST MEETING, NOT BECAUSE IT WAS NOT AN ELEMENT OF THE
COMMON GROUND WHICH EXISTED BETWEEN BOTH SIDES, BUT BECAUSE THE
TURKISH AND GREEK REPS IN PARTICULAR HAD PROBLEMS WITH RAISING
THE ISSUE AT THIS TIME. HE SAID IT WAS HIS PERSONAL OPINION
THAT THERE WAS LITTLE CHANCE THAT THE SOVIETW WOULD SEIZE UPON
THE ISSUE OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES AS ONE IN WHICH THEY FOUND
BROAD AGREEMENT WITH THE WEST.

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22. THE FRG REP SUGGESTED THAT THE AHG MEMBERS SHOULD CONSIDER
DROPPING THE "LIMITED PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING" TERMINOLOGY. HE
SAID THAT, BY REPETITIVE WESTERN USE OF THIS PHRASE, THE EAST
MAY BECOME WARY THAT AGREEMENT ON SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING WOULD
ACTUALLY REPRESENT SOME KIND OF SUBSTANTIVE COMMITMENT AND BACK
OFF. THE US DEP REP REPLIED THAT THE MAJOR POINT IS THAT BOTH

SIDES SHOULD ENGAGE IN A SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THEMSELVES. HE SAID THE USE OF THE PHRASE "LIMITED PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING" HAD THE VALUE OF HIGHLIGHTING THE FACT THAT, THOUGH THERE WOULD BE AN UNDERSTANDING THAT BOTH SIDES WOULD DISCUSS COMMON ELEMENTS, IT WAS RECOGNIZED THAT EACH SIDE STILL RETAINED THE RIGHT TO RAISE OTHER SUBJECTS OF CONCERN IN ACCORD WITH THE JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE. THE UK REP AGREED WITH THE US DEP REP AND POINTED OUT THAT IF THE WORD "PROCEDURE" WERE DROPPED FROM THE PHRASE THEN THE EASTERN SIDE MIGHT INTERPRET SUCH A DELETION AS IMPLYING THAT IN FACT SOME SUBSTANTIVE UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN CONFIDENTIAL

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REACHED TO LIMIT OR REDEFINE THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE DANGER OF EXCESSIVELY FORMALIZING THIS PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING CONCEPT COULD BE ELIMINATED SIMPLY BY THE WAY THE PHRASE WAS HANDLED IN THE COURSE OF EAST/WEST EXCHANGES.

23. THE FRG REP SAID THAT THE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD HAVE TO FACE THE FACT THAT THEY HAD VERY LITTLE AGREED GUIDANCE ON THE QUESTION OF THE INCLUSION IN REDUCTIONS OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US. THEREFORE, HE RECOMMENDED THAT AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME THERE BE NO MENTION OF THE PHRASE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME". HE STATED THAT THOUGH THE USE OF THIS CONCEPT WAS AUTHORIZED, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HOLD IT IN RESERVE. THE US DEP REP REPLIED THAT THE WESTERN REPS COULD SEE HOW THE SITUATION DEVELOPED AT THE 13 FEB MEETING AND ACCORDINGLY DETERMINE IF IT WERE APPROPRIATE TO PUT FORTH THE CONCEPT. THE ITALIAN DEP REP REITERATED THAT THE WESTERN REPS SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT THIS CONCEPT SHOULD BE PUT FORWARD ONLY IF IT APPEARED THAT THE EAST WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN RETURN.

24. THE NETHERLANDS REP STATED THAT THE CASE FOR A PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING WHEREBY BOTH SIDES WOULD CONDUCT A GENERAL REVIEW OF THE POSITIONS OF BOTH IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THE COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THEM IS IN FACT A STRONG ONE. AMONG OTHER THINGS IT COULD MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD. HE SAID THAT WHILE HE WAS NOT URGING THAT SUCH AN APPROACH BE EXAMINED AT THIS POINT, HE DID WANT TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF THE GROUP THAT THERE WAS A STRONG CASE TO BE MADE FOR IT.

25. THE FRG AND UK REPS INDICATED APPROVAL OF A CONTINGENCY POINT SUGGESTED BY US REP IF EASTERN REPS PUSHED THE ISSUE OF WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN REDUCTIONS AT THE INFORMAL GATHERING THAT NIGHT, TO THE EFFECT THAT WITH REGARD TO EASTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT ASSURANCES CONCERNING WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II, THE WEST WAS NOT PREPARED TO MAKE FURTHER AD-

ADVANCE COMMITMENTS REGARDING WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS BEYOND WHAT HAD ALREADY BEEN SAID IN THE AB-

SENCE OF EQUIVALENT EASTERN COMMITMENTS TO THE COMMON CEILING AS
THE OUTCOME OF PHASE II.

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26. THE ITALIAN DEP REP NOTED THAT EVEN IF THE SOVIETS WERE TO
AGREE TO THE CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEILING, THE WEST WOULD BE UN-
PREPARED TO DELINEATE MORE SPECIFICALLY THE COVERAGE OR COMPOSI-
TION OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS. THE NAC HAD NOT ADDRESSED THIS IS-
SUE OR REACHED AGREEMENT ON IT. THE NETHERLANDS REP STATED THAT
IF THE SOVIETS WERE TO AGREE TO THE CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEIL-
ING, THEN THEY WOULD HAVE MADE A MAJOR CONCESSION AND IT WOULD BE
IN THIS CONTEXT THAT THE NAC WOULD BE CALLED TO DEAL WITH THE IS-
SUE.

27. THE CHAIRMAN STATED THAT THE AHG SHOULD ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP
AN AGREED REPORT ON THE 13 FEB MEETING WHICH WOULD BE GIVEN TO
THE NETHERLANDS REP FOR HIS USE IN BRIEFING THE NAC ON 15 FEB.

ORAL REPORT TO THE NAC

28. THE CHAIRMAN THEN TURNED TO THE DRAFT ORAL REPORT TO THE NAC
TO BE PRESENTED BY THE NETHERLANDS REP ON 15 FEB. (SEE SEPTTEL)
THE US DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT THE NETHERLANDS REP, WHEN SERVING
AS ALLIED SPOKESMAN, SHOULD INSURE THAT THE PROTEST OF THE ROMAN-
IANS WITH REGARD TO THE CURRENT PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD
NOT BE OVER-DRAMATIZED. HE SHOULD POINT OUT THAT THE UNDERLYING
ROMANIAN COMPLAINT IS WITH THE WAY THEY ARE TREATED BY THE PACT
ALLIES AND NOT WITH THE WEST OR WITH THE MBFR NEGOTIATING PROCESS
IN VIENNA. THIS IS A CONDITION WHICH THE AHG MEMBERS ARE UNABLE
TO REMEDY.

29. THE ITALIAN DEP REP STATED THAT HE WAS DOUBTFUL THAT IT WOULD
BE ADVISABLE TO MENTION AT THIS TIME THAT THE EAST HAD "HINTED"
ABOUT THE ACCEPTABILITY OF A "FORCE FREEZE" AS NETHERLANDS REP
HAD SUGGESTED. HE SAID IT SEEMED TO HIM TO BE A HINT THAT SHOULD
NOT BE TAKEN TOO SERIOUSLY. IN FACT IT WAS SIMPLY A COUNTER TO
WESTERN ARGUMENTATION. HE SAID THAT THE EAST DID NOT APPEAR TO
TAKE TOO SERIOUSLY THE CHARG
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